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one of the fine arts, and not the least noble." (Wilm, 143.)

"He emphasized the possibility of this moral education through the refinement of man's æsthetic nature by means of the objects of æsthetic appreciation, and he himself became a distinguished leader in moral and political reform by the products, not often surpassed in imaginative sweep and artistic finish, of his poetic activity." (Wilm, 171.)

The author's evaluation of Schiller's permanent contributions to æsthetics and philosophy is generous but just. And if Schiller the philosopher has been overshadowed in the popular estimation by Schiller the poet and playwright the book before us will do much toward establishing a better balanced appreciation of the whole Schiller,—Schiller the man.

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GIOVANNI BUSNELLI, *Il concetto e l'ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, 2 vols., Città di Castello: Casa Tipografico-editrice S. Lapi, 1911-12.

Remote from latter-day philosophy and science, isolated in its well-nigh incorporeal beauty and its message of absolute surrender to the divine will, Dante's *Paradiso* has intimidated rather than allured the casual reader, and has offered the modern elucidator little promise of easy conquest. While commentators swarm thick as flies over the *Inferno*, and hover in clouds (though at a more respectful distance) about the *Purgatorio*, relatively few have dared to make a resolute attack on the last *cantica*. Gardner's excellent guide, *Dante's Ten Heavens*, hardly attempts to go beyond the obvious. Moore is concerned almost exclusively with the physical skies. Vossler's keen and learned study of the *Göttliche Komödie* does not take us very far heavenward. D'Ovidio has added no *Paradiso* to his fascinating *Purgatorio*. Even Flamini, so well equipped for the adventure, apparently balks at the third volume of

his *Significati reconditi della Divina Commedia*—the one which is to deal with the "fine supremo."

In the last few years, however, a couple of unusually competent scholars have made amends for many decades of comparative neglect. E. G. Parodi has published in the *Fanfulla della Domenica* of Dec. 5, 1908, and in the memorial volume dedicated to Pio Rajna, 1911, considerations on the structure of Dante's *Paradise* which penetrate far beneath the surface. And now Father Busnelli (a pupil of Flamini, who contributes a short introductory letter), steeped in scholastic lore and well attuned to his task, offers to mature students not only a compendium of the philosophical and theological influences that must have affected Dante's thought, but also a series of highly ingenious hypotheses as to the poet's general conception of Heaven and his reasons for conceiving it as he probably did. Busnelli was previously known to scholars as the author of *L'Etica nicomachea e l'ordinamento dell' 'Inferno' di Dante*, 1907, *L'ordinamento del 'Purgatorio' dantesco*, 1908, and *Il simbolo delle tre fiere dantesche*, 1909. Clever as these investigations were, the present work is very much more important. It is not a book for rapid perusal. While Busnelli can be eloquent when the subject demands, he is not at all prone to the facile verbosity which makes most Dante literature such thin reading. His pages are full, both of solid matter requiring time for digestion, and of intricate conjectures which must be carefully studied and weighed. Whether we agree with him or not, he makes us think, and shows us how to think in Dantesque fashion. Noteworthy, in a field where vulgar abuse is unfortunately so rife, is his courtesy in handling the opinions of other critics. This urbanity does not desert him even in his sturdy and inspiring defence of the supreme loveliness of the *Paradiso*.

Two great problems which Dante often touches upon, but—like all his predecessors and followers—leaves without satisfactory answer, our author prudently refrains from discussing: the origin of evil and the relation of free will to predestination. Upon predestina-

tion, in fact, Busnelli may seem to bear rather lightly, when we consider that it is really the keynote of the *Paradiso*, as free will has been rightly called the theme of the *Purgatorio*. The mystery of God's foreordaining is surely the thought uppermost in Dante's mind in his distribution of beatitude; and this should make us cautious about trying to lay out the Rose of Paradise according to any humanly logical scheme. Dante's assignment of different degrees of happiness to babes that died before exercising election—a doctrine which (as Busnelli points out) runs counter to the poet's master, St. Thomas—indicates clearly enough the basic principle of allotment in the Elysian.

In some other matters Busnelli is led by the very fulness of his information, as well as by the example of the scholastic theologians he has been frequenting, to indulge in rather fine-spun speculation and to read into his author things which the author himself does not suggest. For instance, he follows St. Thomas in a lengthy dissertation—founded on an accident of phrase—concerning three kinds of sight supposed to be indicated by St. Paul's words (1 Cor. XIII, 12), "For now we see as in a glass, darkly, but then face to face"—"*Videmus nunc per speculum, in ænigmate: tunc autem facie ad faciem.*" The distinction of three types of motion in angels,—circular, straight, and oblique,—laid down by the Pseudo-Dionysius and by St. Thomas, while it may have been present in Dante's mind, has left no evident mark in his poem. On the other hand, some light is thrown on the allegory of the point and circles (representing God and the Angelic orders) by the citation of analogous figures from St. Thomas and from Boethius. The treatment of the symbolic colors of the three Christian Virtues, with a comparison of the rainbow and the three rings of the Trinity, although it leads to no positive identification, helps to reveal the chaotic background out of which Dante's concepts emerged. It is just as well for us to remember that serious, powerful minds were bent on determining the exact hues indicated by the gems in Rev. iv, 3: 'And he that sat was to look upon like a *jasper* and a *sardine*

*stone*: and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an *emerald*.' Illuminating, for the appreciation of the final "*ruota ch' igualmente è mossa*" (an image admirably discussed by J. B. Fletcher in the *Nation* of Dec. 29, 1910), are St. Thomas's words: "*Et ideo circularitas motus animæ completur in hoc quod ad Deum manuducit.*" Such a parallel is interesting, if for no other reason, as an illustration of the difference between prose and poetry. In dealing with the unknown source of Dante's portrayal of Paradise in the form of a rose, Busnelli presents the attractive suggestion that the poet derived the idea of a vast amphitheatre from a visit to the Roman Coliseum.

Perhaps the most satisfactory chapter is that containing the commentary on cantos XXIII–XXVII—the gathering of all the blest in the eighth sphere, and the triumph of Christ, Mary, and St. Peter. Old tradition makes the starry heaven a symbol of the Church; hence its appropriateness for such an assembly. Hence, too, its fitness (in Busnelli's opinion) to serve as the proper sphere of the Apostles, and presumably of the Evangelists and of Adam, above the rest of humanity. The spectacle here depicted is the counterpart of the pageant described at the end of the *Purgatorio*, the Church Militant having now become the Church Triumphant. Here, on the borderland of the visible and the invisible world, the God-Man comes to meet the ascending human creature. Here the three Apostles, types of the three Christian Virtues, dance before Beatrice, as the Virtues themselves did in the Garden of Eden. Here these Virtues are celebrated by the traveler. And it is suitable that their glorification should come from the lips of man, since they are essentially of the first life rather than the second; for while the blest retain Love, purified and intensified, their Faith has been transformed to knowledge, and their Hope to fulfilment. In the rising of Christ and Mary, before the waiting host, we have a representation of the Ascension and the Assumption. St. Peter, on the other hand, triumphs without leaving his flock, remaining below in the place of Jesus. On this occasion the An-

gels, who owe nothing to the Saviour of mankind, do not appear. But a conspicuous place is assigned to Adam, originator of the "felix culpa" which called forth the Redemption.

In the lower spheres vast numbers of blessed spirits are seen by Dante, and in this one all the souls of Paradise appear to him; yet we are told that their real abode is not in the material heavens, but in the Empyrean, beyond the confines of the physical universe. How are we to understand their apparently dual presence? The *Paradiso* itself offers no positive answer. Did the poet conceive of himself as seeing the things he describes, or as dreaming them; or did he dream some and see others? The problem of the nature of Dante's vision is bound up with the question (raised by the Apostle himself) whether St. Paul, when "he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter," was "in the body, or out of the body." St. Augustine, St. Thomas, and others discuss the matter at some length, without reaching a definite conclusion. With regard to the closely related question whether St. Paul actually saw God, St. Augustine and St. Thomas incline to the affirmative, but all the intervening theologians are on the other side. It seems altogether likely that Dante followed St. Thomas in his uncertainty over the first problem and in his answer to the second. But even this assumption leaves us in doubt about the twofold, or threefold, location of the happy spirits. Busnelli properly rejects the theory that the poet's journey through the spheres is to be taken as a purely imaginary experience, a preliminary, allegorical version of the reality of Paradise. The query then remains whether the souls, without leaving the Empyrean, merely project their semblances into the lower heavens, or actually quit for a while their seats in Paradise, to greet the upward faring traveler. Busnelli prefers the latter view, which, as he shows, is not inconsistent with theological teaching. There is authority for the opinion that the blest can assume unsubstantial but visible bodies, to converse with the living, and that they can move from place to place without ever losing sight of God. Furthermore, a dis-

inction is made by St. Thomas between the "essential reward" of the elect and their "accidental reward": the former consists in their contemplation of the Lord, which never changes; the latter, which is capable of variation, consists in the happiness due to good deeds performed by themselves or others. The existence of the blest is both quiet and active. As far as their "premium essenziale" is concerned, they are immutably in the presence of God; but the enjoyment of their "premium accidentale" may carry them hither and thither.

Busnelli's main thesis still remains to be stated. While the seating of the elect in the Rose depicts allegorically their "essential reward," their distribution through the spheres (which is neither more nor less symbolical than their appearance in the Empyrean) indicates their "accidental reward," corresponding directly to their conduct on earth. For the idea of a diversity of happiness in Heaven there is abundant theological authority. The "many mansions" of John xiv, 2, are interpreted as different degrees in the knowledge of God, which is the source of joy. The Divine Care, in itself, is the same for all, but its gifts are various. The "essential reward" depends on the intensity of love in each soul, which is a result of Grace; the "accidental reward" corresponds to the nature of service done, and this is determined largely by endowments coming from the stars. From the hodge-podge of mediæval astrology Dante selected those stellar influences which were manifestly appropriate to the several heavenly bodies and were at the same time consistent with his ethical scheme. St. Thomas, in his commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, attributes to each planet a certain dominant effect, and these effects accord in part—but only in part—with the influences chosen by Dante; for instance, he assigns stability to Saturn, change to the Moon. At first sight, the scale of blessedness in Dante's spheres would seem to be founded entirely on this astrological principle. But Busnelli discovers in the plan a theological principle also, ingeniously harmonized with the astronomical. The gradation of the blest, even in the material

heavens, is based on Charity, or love of God, which is the basis of diversity in merit and reward. Now, according to St. Thomas, there are three degrees of charity, corresponding to three stages of human perfection: "incipient," "proficient," and "perfect." "Incipient charity" is lodged by Dante in the Moon; "proficient charity" in Mercury, Venus, and the Sun; "perfect charity" in Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Charity of any grade may reside in deed, will, or intellect; and these three manifestations of it form an ascending scale. Busnelli would have it that in the "incipient" stage, typified by the Moon, charity of all three kinds is imperfect. In the "proficient" stage, charity of deed is symbolized by Mercury, charity of will by Venus, charity of intellect by the Sun. In the "perfect" stage, we find charity of deed in Mars, charity of will in Jupiter, charity of intellect in Saturn. Thus we have a threefold partition of the planets (Moon; Mercury, Venus, Sun; Mars, Jupiter, Saturn), different from the astronomical and ethical grouping (Moon, Mercury, Venus; Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn). This apparently oversubtle classification is fortified by an abundance of apposite quotation from Thomas Aquinas, whom Dante studied with such devotion; and the reader who begins with uncompromising doubt is likely to be persuaded, before the evidence is all in, that the poet at least had St. Thomas's stages and types of charity in mind when he planned the *Paradiso*, and so contrived his heavens that their character should not be out of keeping with the ideas of his teacher.

Moreover, St. Thomas informs us that three kinds of life are figured by the planets: the active, the voluptuous, the contemplative. To these correspond three desires, which, by subdivision of the first two, increase to seven. Rearranged in the order of Dante's spheres, they may be made to appear as follows: self-preservation (voluptuous); fame (active), pleasure (voluptuous), wealth of wisdom (active); strong and rational action (active), government (active), knowledge of truth (contemplative). Thus phrased, and in this sequence, they exactly fit our poet's seven planets: Moon; Mercury, Venus, Sun; Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.

Of this distinction of "desires" we may say that, since Dante almost certainly knew it, we are probably justified in thinking that it contributed to the shaping of his conception of the scale of merit. Some other less successful comparisons urged by Busnelli need not be mentioned, as they are not essential to his argument. Unconvincing on the whole, is his correlation of the heavens with the virtues and with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. As to the relation of the orders of Angels to the classes of blest who appear in their heavens, even Busnelli confesses his inability to find a general principle of connection.

A table at the end of the second volume conveniently displays the several features of the scheme expounded in this erudite, penetrating, and sympathetic study.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### ANOTHER NOTE ON WARD

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—Like your correspondent, Miss Martin (*M. L. N.*, xxvii, 198) I have noted a number of small omissions and oversights in Ward's excellent *History of English Dramatic Literature*. Here is one of them.

In discussing the date of the production of *Macbeth*, Ward rightly rejects Malone's absurd contention that the mention of "the farmer that hang'd himself on the expectation of plenty" indicates the date of 1606, that being a year of heavy crops and low prices. But he rejects it on the ground that there were low prices for farm products in other years, overlooking the fact that this suicidal farmer occurs in Jonson's *Every Man Out of his Humour* (1599), where the miser Sordido hangs himself in apprehension of a plenteous harvest and low prices.

Jonson took the incident from Castiglione's *Courtier*. I quote from Hoby's version (1561).